

PROCEEDINGS  
AT THE TWENTY-SECOND  
ANNUAL LINCOLN DINNER  
OF THE  
REPUBLICAN CLUB  
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



HELD AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA CELEBRATING  
THE NINETY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
BIRTHDAY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN  
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1908







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# ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EMANCIPATOR

MARTYR

BORN FEBRUARY 12, 1809

ADMITTED TO THE BAR 1837

ELECTED TO CONGRESS 1846

ELECTED SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF  
THE UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1860

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION,  
JANUARY 1, 1863

RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1864

ASSASSINATED APRIL 14, 1865

## OFFICERS OF THE CLUB.

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1st Vice-President

JOHN A. DUTTON

2d Vice-President

E. W. BLOOMINGDALE

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CHARLES H. YOUNG

Ex-Officio

## SPEAKERS

MR. CHARLES H. YOUNG, President of the Club, Presiding

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Grace by

THE REVEREND PERCY STICKNEY GRANT

Address

GOVERNOR CHARLES EVANS HUGHES  
New York

The People and Their Law

GOVERNOR AUGUSTUS E. WILLSON  
Kentucky

Abraham Lincoln

THE HONORABLE MORRIS SHEPPARD  
Texas

Representative in Congress

The Republican Party

THE HONORABLE JOHN MAYNARD HARLAN  
Chicago

## Guests of the Club at President's Table.

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HON. EDMUND WETMORE  
CEPHAS BRAINERD, Esq.  
HON. EDWARD T. BARTLETT  
GEN. HENRY E. TREMAIN  
HON. MORTIMER C. ADDOMS  
HON. WILLIAM L. WARD  
HON. FRANK S. BLACK  
HON. JOHN MAYNARD HARLAN  
GOVERNOR CHARLES EVANS HUGHES  
GOVERNOR AUGUSTUS E. WILLSON  
HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD  
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW  
GEN. HORACE PORTER  
ROBERT C. OGDEN, Esq.  
HON. LOUIS STERN  
HON. HERBERT PARSONS  
HON. JAMES A. BLANCHARD  
EX-GOV. N. J. BACHELDER  
HON. TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF  
THE REVEREND PERCY STICKNEY GRANT

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## GRACE

by the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant.

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Bless, O Lord, our gathering to-night, our eating and drinking, our commemoration of a great man, one who was an optimist, who always hoped for the best, and who had the courage to wait; one who loved Thy children and all life so much that to his clear intelligence and to his profound sympathy nothing was common or unclean; the savior who restored freedom to an enslaved race, and who gave consistency to the principles of a republic. Make us, we beseech Thee, worthy of this great American. Amen.

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INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS  
OF  
HON. CHARLES H. YOUNG  
*President of the Club.*

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Gentlemen will please rise in their places and join with me in drinking a toast to our fellow member, the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause. Toast drunk standing.)

Ladies, Guests and Fellow Members of the Republican Club:

A cordial greeting and welcome to you all.

We are gathered here to commemorate the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

American history furnishes no other anniversary so stirring to our patriotism.

The seed sown by this Club twenty-two years ago, in the initiation of this annual function has fallen upon fertile soil and produced good results.

No state holiday marked our first dinner, but now many of the states have made this date a holiday, largely through our effort and our state's example so that in paying tribute to Lincoln's memory, the Republican Club of the City of New York stands foremost; and within the past six months, we have initiated a movement with fair prospects of success, to make the 12th of February a holiday in all the states of the Union for the year 1909, the one hundredth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth.

This year we further congratulate ourselves upon the fact, that looking down upon us, is our own picture of Lincoln. The dinner committee of 1907, pre-

sents it to the Club. Its merit has been recognized by many friends and acquaintances of the great war President; and it has the hearty approval of his distinguished son, Robert T. Lincoln.

As the years go by, Abraham Lincoln comes to mean more and more to the American people.

The lesson of his life is for all time. Born of the soil, familiar with the field, the forest and the stream, he aspired always to that which was good. As a boy he strove to understand, he cherished no vices, he was industrious. As a man he was just and charitable and possessed the genius born of hard work. Patient, industrious and honest, he found the path to honor and power open then as it is now, to those who are willing to work under conditions and with men as they are, rather than as they ought to be. He felt it no shame to seek to gratify honorable ambition.

Among partisans and dreamers he was just and sane; and he brought to the office of President of the United States a character which had been molded and developed through poverty and hard work and actual contact with men that enabled him to execute faithfully the laws of the land with charity for all and malice toward none during the years when the very life of this Republic hung in balance.

Phillips Brooks said of him, "He lived as he did, and he died as he did because he was what he was. The more we see of events the less we believe in any fate or destiny, except the destiny of character."

As citizens of the Republic, we can never know too much of this man's life and attainments, and there will speak to-night men who can add to that knowledge.

Before introducing to you the first speaker of the evening, it is necessary to suggest that as soon as

his speech is concluded he will have to leave for Brooklyn. It is a pleasure, and a great pleasure, to introduce as the first speaker of the evening the Governor of the State of New York (great applause and three cheers for Governor Hughes), a governor in fact as well as in name (applause), and one who first seeks to learn and then to act. (Applause.) His prudence, his untiring patience, his respect for the law and the Constitution, his direct appeals to the people for support in measures making for the betterment of men and conditions—appeals which have always met with a hearty response—distinguish him as possessing qualities which made Lincoln great—Governor Hughes.





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## ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR HUGHES.

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Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Republican Club and Ladies: The exigencies of the gubernatorial office have not given me opportunity to prepare any address which would be worthy of the traditions of this anniversary, and I appear before you without any set speech. I am very glad indeed of the opportunity of welcoming to the State of New York the Governor of our sister state, Kentucky; and I envy you the pleasure that you will have in listening to those who will adequately present the memories of this occasion. But, my friends, from a boy I have been full of Lincoln. There is no day in the year that is so eloquent to me as the day in which we commemorate his birth. (Applause.)

It is true that on that day of all days when we celebrate the Declaration of Independence the American heart is warm with the sentiments of liberty and of free opportunity and of hearty recognition of equality. It is also true that on the day when we celebrate the birth of the Father of his Country we render loyal tribute to the distinguished services of a man who, against odds which we little appreciate, battled for the independence which was so nobly declared; and we feel richer in our manhood because we were introduced to the family of nations by one who so worthily represented the best that humanity has offered. (Applause.)

But there is one man who presents to the American people above all others in his many sided greatness

the type, the representative of those qualities which distinguish American character and make possible the maintenance of our national strength. And in Abraham Lincoln we recognize not simply one who gave his life for his country and rendered the most important service that any man could render in the preservation of the Union, but one who seemed to have centered in himself those many attributes which we recognize as the sources of our national power. He is, par excellence, the true American, Abraham Lincoln. (Applause).

I wish in our colleges and whenever young men are trained, particularly for political life, that there could be a course in Lincoln. I wish our young men could be taken through the long efforts of his career; I wish they could become more intimately acquainted with the addresses he delivered; I wish that they could get in closer touch with that remarkable personality, and they would never find it possible to take a low or sordid view of American opportunity.

Abraham Lincoln was an acute man. But we erect no monuments to shrewdness. We have no memorials by which we desire to perpetuate the records of American smartness. Skill in manipulation, acuteness in dealing for selfish purposes, may win their temporary victories, but the acuteness that the American people admire is that acuteness which is devoted to the solution of problems affecting their prosperity and directly related to their interests, and which is employed unselfishly and for the benefit of the people, apart from any individual interest. (Applause.)

I have long been a student of Lincoln. I have marveled at the ability which he displayed. There has been no greater exponent of that sharpness of intellect which so pre-eminently characterizes the American. But Abraham Lincoln devoted all his

talents, his extraordinary perspicacity to the welfare of the people. He was a man of principle. He was a man all whose acts were founded upon a recognition of the fundamental principles which underlay our Republic. Said he on one occasion, "I have no sentiments except those which I have derived from a study of the Declaration of Independence." He was profoundly an apostle of liberty. I have said that he was a man of principle. Rarely has the doctrine of the relation to the nation, to the states, and of government to the individual been more lucidly expounded than he expounded it in those sentences which probably are familiar to you all. He said, "The nation must control whatever concerns the nation. The states, or any minor political community, must control whatever exclusively concerns it. The individual shall control whatever exclusively concerns him. That is real popular sovereignty." And in that he said it all. (Applause.)

He was an expert logician. He brought to bear upon his opponents the batteries of remorseless logic. He had a profound confidence in the reasoning judgment of the American people. He disdained all efforts to capture the populace by other means. There is nothing more illuminating than his conduct of that great campaign against Douglas in 1858. He developed his line of attack in a question. He brought to bear upon his opponent an extraordinary ability of analysis. He eviscerated the subject of discussion and he presented the whole matter that was then before the great American nation in its bare bones on a perfectly cool and logical consideration; and, while he lost the campaign for the senatorship, he made himself the apostle of thinking America in its opposition to the extension of slavery. He had one foundation principle, and that was this: "Slavery," he said, "is wrong. It may be recognized where it

constitutionally exists, but shall it be extended?" And to every proposition that was presented by his skilful and adroit opponent he presented not abuse, not any appeal to the emotions of the multitude, but cogent reasoning, from which none could escape, and while he lost the senatorship, he appeared before the American people as representing their ideal of straightforward, honest representation of the truth applicable to their crisis, and received the highest honors within their gift. (Applause.)

There never has been an illustration, I venture to say, within the memory of man where intellect has exerted so potent a magnetism, where loyalty has been commended simply because reason exerted its sway. (Applause.) I love to dwell upon those historic events. Any American who has failed to take advantage of their study has lost largely his opportunity. Whenever you are tempted to think in a discouraging manner of the future of the American Republic you should read the annals of those times when the Union itself was in the balance, and you should realize how inevitably to the demand of reason the American public respond and how necessarily anything that cannot stand against honest judgment must fail in this enlightened Republic. (Applause.)

Lincoln was an humble man, he was unpretentious and of lowly birth, he was without affectation, he was the most democratic of men. No one that has ever lived among us has been so much a brother to every man, however lowly born or unfortunately circumstanced. His was not the early training of those who like many of our distinguished men had the advantages afforded by parentage with noble tradition although in poor circumstances, with schooling and environment which would stimulate the loftiest of aspirations. He sprung from conditions which would seem to stifle ambition. He simply was a man; a

man born; a great American; superior to all the disadvantages which surrounded his birth and early training; and therein there is no man who walks in any station of life in any part of the country but can call Lincoln his brother, his friend, a man of like passions and like experiences with himself. (Applause.) We recognize some men for the services that they have rendered. They have deserved well of their country. We recognize Lincoln for his service. No one has deserved better of his country. He rendered a service which cannot be eulogized into extravagant terms; but we forget anything that Lincoln ever did or anything that Lincoln ever said in the recognition of the great manhood that was his, which transcended anything he did because of what he was. (Applause.) I have said that he was a man of principle; and so he was. But he was a progressive man; he was sensitive to the demands of his day. Three or four years—three years, I believe it was, after the outbreak of the war he said, “I have not controlled events, and I confess events have controlled me, and after three years we find ourselves in a situation which neither party and no man devised or expected.” He was a man who met each demand as it arose—to the radicals he was too conservative; to the conservatives he was too radical. Few in the community praised him during his life. Probably no man in the whole history of the Republic was ever so severely criticised and so mercilessly lampooned in the dark days of 1864; after three years of trouble he had sustained a burden which would have broken down an ordinary man. He said in August of that year that it seemed there were no friends; and he looked forward to the next election as almost certain to go against the party which he represented.

Without sacrilege I may say he was “A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.” And, frequently

alone, without the sustaining encouragement of even those who were close to him in his official family, he endeavored to exercise that judgment which history commends and that extraordinary talent for analyzing difficult situations which is the marvel of our later day.

My friends, Lincoln represents what the American Republic is capable of and in one personality typifies what we have accomplished and of what we can reasonably hope. (Applause.)

He was a humane man, a man of emotion, which he never allowed to control his reason; a man of sentiment and deep feeling. He was a lowly man who never asserted himself as superior to his fellows, but he could rise in the dignity of his manhood to a majesty that has seldom been equalled by any ruler of any people under any form of government. (Applause.) When Lee sent to Grant and suggested that there might be some talk with regard to the disposition that might be made of public affairs in the interest of peace and Grant forwarded the communication or the substance of it to the President, the President, without a moment's hesitation or without consultation with anyone, said, in effect: "You shall confine your communications with General Lee to the matter of capitulation, or to minor or military subjects. You shall not discuss with him any political affairs. The President reserves to himself the control of those questions and will not submit them to any military convention." (Applause.) It was not an assertion of any superiority which he felt above his brother man. It was simply the realization of the dignity of his office and its responsibility in a supreme crisis, and the willingness to assume that responsibility before the American people with that innate confidence of which his supreme intellect could never deprive him.

My friends, we see in Lincoln patience, the reasoning faculty, humanity, the democratic sentiment, patient consideration, all combined, and we may well learn from him the lessons which at every hour of our history we should well study. There may be those who look with uncertainty upon our future, who feel oppressed by the problems of the day. I am not one of them. (Applause.)

"Why," said Lincoln, "should we not have patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the American people?" (Applause.)

Why not, indeed? Who are the American people? They are the most intelligent people organized into any civil society on the face of this broad earth. (Applause). They have abundant opportunities for education. They are keen and alert. They are those whom you meet in every walk of life. Their common sense is of general recognition among all the peoples of the world. Why not have patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the American people? If we can only feel as Lincoln felt and derive our political sentiments from a study of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and proceed as Lincoln did, with remorseless logic, to the consideration of the demands of every exigency, there can be no question but what each problem will be solved, and that every decade of American history will witness a fresh advance, and that the prosperity of the future will far transcend anything that we have realized in the past. (Applause.)

Undoubtedly abuses exist; undoubtedly abuses must be cured. If there is any man who thinks, or any set of men who think that by any astuteness they may stand in the way of progress, and may prevent the correction of evils that exist, let them beware; they will find themselves impotent. Progress will take no account of them. The American people will

advance step by step surely and inevitably to a realization of their ideals, and nothing whatever will stand in the way in the course of time of that equality of opportunity and of equal rights before the law which the Declaration of Independence announces, and which the Constitution was intended to conserve. (Applause.)

What we need to-day is a definition of evils. What we need to-day is a delimiting of abuses, and let the whole power and strength of the Republic, as represented by those who are naturally its leaders, be devoted to the careful and calm consideration of remedies in order that we may save our prosperity, and at the same time render every condition which threatens us impotent and powerless, because the will of the people, in the interest of the people, the deliberate expression of the popular judgment, must in this country at all times be supreme. (Applause.) There is plenty of coal on board; every man is at his post; steam is up, and the only question is as to the direction and to avoid the sandbars and the shoals. It is a question of the selection of the right course. I believe most thoroughly in the judgment of the American people. Every man in this country worthy of his citizenship desires to work. He desires to get a fair opportunity to show what is in him. He desires to have the advantages which from boyhood he has been taught that this American Republic affords. He desires to have hurdles and obstacles which may have been put in his way by special privilege or by a perversion of government removed. He desires to have no disadvantage created by any ill-considered interference with governmental relations. But on the other hand, he intends to have the fullest advantage and opportunity for the exercise of his individual power, with recognition of the equal right of every other man to the exercise of his individual power; so that all may be prosperous and all



may succeed; and all that we need is to put a stop to those things which are inimical to our common advantage, and insist upon our common rights and reason together in regard to what is fair and what is just, and accomplish things with full ascertainment of the facts because they are right and because the people, in their deliberate judgment, demand that they should be accomplished. (Applause.) We are all fortunate that we have a Lincoln. What would the country be if we were all a lot of sordid money grabbers with nothing to point to but the particular sharpness of A, or the special success, in some petty manipulation, of B? What a grand thing it is that we have the inheritance of the memory of a man who had everything which we could aspire to in intellectual attainments, who was endowed with a strength of moral purpose, who was perfectly sincere in the interest of the people, and who gave his life work and eventually his life itself in order that our Union, with its opportunities, might survive. (Applause.)

I am proud, my friends, to have had an opportunity to study Lincoln's life. If any of you have failed to take advantage of that opportunity do not let another year go by without making a thorough study of that career. It is an epitome of Americanism. It will realize all that you have dreamed of and all that you can possibly imagine. It is simply a representation of a man upon whose brow God has written a line of superiority, who never arrogated it to himself except in his great function of discharging the highest office of government. Defeated again and again, failing to realize the ambition that was nearest to him, again and again he arose by sheer force of intellect and character until he came to the point where a Nation's burden was put upon him, and he carried it so nobly that forever he will be to us the nation's representative, the typical American. (Cheers and great applause).



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## ADDRESS OF AUGUSTUS M. WILLSON.

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PRESIDENT YOUNG: The Republican Club, and the Republicans of the State of New York welcome Kentucky to the sisterhood of Republican States. Neither in the past nor in the present can Kentucky be coerced, driven or coaxed. She can be persuaded, and we hope the result of the last campaign is her persuasion forever. As a standard of Kentucky Republicans we have with us to-night her new Governor, the Hon. Augustus M. Willson, who in the short period of his official career has given evidence of moral and executive courage and a firm belief in the stability of American civil institutions and of the permanency of constitutional rights. As Governor Willson has evidenced already that he has concise ideas of the relationship of our people to their constitution and laws, we heartily extend to him the right hand of hospitality and will be glad to hear from him.

Governor Willson, you shall have our best attention. (Great applause, followed by the singing of My Old Kentucky Home.)

### GOVERNOR WILLSON.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Republican Club of the City of New York and guests: I thank you sincerely for the greeting to Kentucky. The song and its spirit are in your hearts, and in mine. Not even that bit of pathos that comes with the song to one so far from home shall make me

anything but glad to be with you. (Applause.) I bring you greetings from the old Commonwealth of which I am a loving son, to this grand Empire State (applause); I bring you greetings from the people of Kentucky to the people of New York, our partners in this Union of ours (applause); and I bring to the earnest, resolute, forceful and wise Governor of New York, who has not been able to stay with us, greetings with the Governor of Kentucky. (Applause.) Not the formal greeting of courtesy and etiquette, but heart to heart greetings (applause), the old howdy (applause) that, in the words given to the little Christmas child, the cripple that won the heart of Scrooge, makes all men kind in this great world, both kind and kin. God bless us all, everyone of us—Tiny Tim. (Applause.)

The seal of Kentucky represents two gentlemen supporting each other after a banquet (laughter) and at their feet the motto "United we stand, divided we fall" (laughter). It is the old fable of the bundle of fagots. Kipling has put it more lately in the law of the jungle.

"Now this is the law of the jungle,

As old and as true as the sky;

And the wolf that shall heed it may prosper,

And the wolf that shall break it may die.

Like the creeper that girdles the tree trunk,

The law runneth forward and back:

The pack is the strength of the wolf,

And the wolf is the strength of the pack. (Applause.)

Is it nothing that brings together under that flag and in the inspiration of that noble soul (pointing to the American flag and the picture of Lincoln) the people of the North and the people of the South? (Applause.) Does it mean nothing to a thoughtful mind that my brother here from the Republic of Texas, a Democrat, comes to celebrate and add his

touching tribute to the love and veneration that the world holds for Abraham Lincoln? (Applause.) Is it nothing that the inspiration of that great soul has brought back to the state of his birth at last the triumph of those principles for which he stood and in the defense of which he gave up his life? (Applause.)

For Kentucky I bring you greetings of a state that has joined your Republican Club. Without money and without price (laughter and applause), on honor and judgment, without genius and without favor, Kentucky has voted Republican because all the strong and earnest elements of the state united in the belief that our principle was best in a government of the people, by the people and for the people. (Applause.)

Once in a meeting of the lawyers of my state to hold memorial services upon the death of Lincoln's Attorney-General, the Hon. James Speed, a gifted son of Alabama, presented to us a picture that may be old to you, but that in its beauty is ever new to me, of this people of ours marching from the start of this country in the Revolution across a mighty bridge stretched over the everflowing mighty river of time, and he saw, looking way back to the mists of the Revolution on the far shore yonder, a mighty pier, and looking closely saw upon it the name of Washington (applause), and coming over this great river of time, in the midst of the stream, he saw another rugged, massive pier, and it was labeled Jackson, and still another generation forward in our march across that river, he saw that pier where the stream was deepest, that lifted its mighty head farthest above the stream of all, and that pier was labeled Lincoln. (Applause.)

I feel that we cannot too often celebrate the name, the spirit and the character of Lincoln. But I was to talk to you to-night about the people and their

law, and just at this minute I begin to feel that alarm that the neophyte must feel when he sits or stands before the Nestor of all after dinner speakers (laughter and applause), and also Ulysses next.

The people and their law!

It is a covenant under which we live, it is the fortress of our liberty, it is that without which there can be no liberty, there can be no rights, no security; it is that which we must uphold first.

I was not sure that I agreed entirely with the thought that we must look to remedies first. I believe first in the power and pushing ahead with it and using the remedies sparingly, only as needed (applause). The law furnishes the rule, and the people's law furnishes the remedy when the remedy is necessary, but it does not always work. We have had some little troubles in Kentucky (laughter), the remedy for which is being applied in a thoughtful, earnest and studious way, but the medicine doesn't work immediately (laughter). Let me say, however, that there shall be patience, earnest work, unyielding faith, relentless determination in every honorable officer to uphold the law of the people.

I had intended to say more, but you have been very patient and kind, and as I look upon that living picture yonder with the cruel Indian reminding me of the time when we had no law in Kentucky and also of the survival of the fittest, I have made up my mind to give you greeting and good will and wish you good luck and good cheer, and give the next man a chance. (Great applause.)

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## ADDRESS OF HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD.

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PRESIDENT YOUNG: The committee in charge of this dinner has taken the position that the fame of Lincoln has passed beyond sectional lines, and that the inspiration of his life and its work has permeated the entire country. We feel sure, speaking for the committee, that in no part of this great country, now that Lincoln can be viewed from the perspective of years, is his life and work more keenly appreciated than in that very section where his acts were first the cause of violent controversy. We have, therefore, invited a representative of the South, differing from us in political faith but not in loyalty to the Union, to speak on the subject of Abraham Lincoln. We consider ourselves particularly fortunate in having selected for that duty the Hon. Morris Sheppard, member of Congress from the State of Texas. (Great cheers and applause, followed by the singing of Dixie.)

### MR. SHEPPARD.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Republican Club: On the wall of a Southern home there is to-day a letter in a frame, a letter which reads: "Executive Mansion, Washington, Feb. 10, 1865. Hon. A. H. Stephens: According to your agreement, your nephew, Lieutenant Stephens, goes to you bearing this note. Please in return to select and send me that officer of the same rank, imprisoned at Richmond, whose physical condition most urgently

requires his release. Respectfully, A. Lincoln." In a corner of the frame is a photograph of Lincoln bearing his signature in his own handwriting. At the close of the Hampton Roads Conference early in 1865 Lincoln had asked Alexander Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy and one of the Southern Commissioners, if he could do anything for him personally. "Nothing," said Stephens, "unless you can send me my nephew who has been a prisoner on Johnson's Island for 20 months." "I shall be glad to do it; let me have his name," was the prompt reply. A few days later Lieutenant Stephens left for Richmond, where the exchange was effected, bearing the letter and the picture before described, both the gifts of Lincoln, and for more than forty years they have remained the chief treasures of a Dixie fireside. This incident was but one of a host of others, showing in Lincoln a spirit that poised on wings of light above the wrath and gloom of war.

But for other and wider reasons it is proper that the portrait of Lincoln should adorn this Southern home. He was born of Southern parentage on Kentucky soil. His father was a Virginian; his grandfather was a Virginian, his mother was a Virginian. His mother! The very word hallows the lips that utter it. The world has not yet grasped its debt to the mothers of mankind. The mother is the luster and the hope of history. She is the central figure of all human sacrifice. Life is the flower of her agony, the fruitage of her pain. Humanity is cradled in her tears. That men may be, she fronts the grave, yes, at each birth endures a living crucifixion.

Lincoln's mother possessed in marvelous measure the qualities that make maternity sacred. He never forgot her prayers, prayers that made the cabin in the wilderness a temple grander than St. Peter's or Cologne. His father, always in deepest poverty, had



but recently removed from Kentucky largely because the spread of slavery and the aristocracy surrounding it tended to degrade the status of the whites who were compelled to labor with their hands. Thus in his earliest years was permanently impressed on Lincoln's soul the ideas of liberty, equality and personal rectitude which led him later to acclaim that day the happiest of history when there should be neither slave nor drunkard in the world. Such was his mother's influence that he afterward ascribed to her all that he was or hoped to be. The clumsy, hand-hewn coffin in which she was interred, the lack of ceremony due to the fact that few ministers visited that remote vicinity, the lonely grave in the clearing, deepened the sadness that solitude and hardship had implanted in his nature. He did not rest until several months afterward he knelt in the snow while a wandering preacher, summoned at his earnest instance, delivered a funeral sermon over her grave. It should be said here that the devoted woman, a native of Kentucky, who succeeded Lincoln's mother in the Lincoln home, recognized at once his unusual capacities and employed every means to encourage and develop them. To her he gave a love and reverence that were reflected in his spotless conduct. The teachings of these two women gave gentleness and grace to all his acts and must have prompted deed after deed of mercy in the memorable conflict with which his name is forever associated. (Applause.)

When Lincoln in 1832 announced his candidacy for the Illinois legislature he stated that his supreme purpose was to win the esteem of his fellowmen by being worthy of it. Thus at the age of 23 he proclaimed the basic impulse of his career, the ambition to be useful to mankind. This impulse was but prophetic of the principle of brotherhood that was to mark the consummation of his efforts and to signal-

ize his relation to history. Probably no other man of commanding fame ever struggled so effectively against so unpromising an environment. The family had removed from Kentucky to Indiana, from Indiana to Illinois, following the frontier's westward sweep, locating in secluded forests, felling trees with which to construct the crudest shelter and opening land for cultivation. In the labors of the farm and woods young Lincoln shared to the fullest degree. The ordinary facilities of the most rudimentary education were beyond his reach. His entire schooling did not comprise twelve months. Yet he managed to obtain and study with absorbing eagerness Bunyan, Aesop, Weems' Washington and the Bible. Perhaps Aesop inspired his celebrated habit of reinforcing argument with parable and anecdote. With what prophetic interest must he have followed the trials of Washington and the patriot armies in founding the nation he was to be summoned to preserve. He seems to have been especially impressed with Washington's unvarying trust in God, a sentiment he approved and emulated. In the Bible, of which he was a constant student, he found the doctrine that supplied the definition of his existence, the doctrine embodied in Christ's answer to the lawyer in the temple, the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the doctrine that Lincoln considered of itself sufficient to form the basis of a church, the doctrine his life proclaimed and his death ennobled, the doctrine of which the American Declaration of Independence is but another form, the doctrine on which rests all liberty and progress. (Applause.) Such were the materials with which this youthful Vulcan hammered his being into heroic mould and purpose. In that stern pioneer age labor of severest form was honor's essence, equality was the natural state, and men were loved for what they could contribute to the general

good. In such a school Lincoln learned to revere humanity, truth and God. In such a school he developed a gentle soul, a giant stature and an iron will. His was a universal sympathy with all human aspiration. Hate found no lodgment in his heart; there kindness and mercy, like twin Portias, pleaded always against the pound of flesh. (Applause.)

These elements were slowly fusing in the fires of experience and ambition, of conflicts, defeats, successes, for almost thirty years from the date of his first announcement for office. His single term in Congress was marked by faithful service and several comprehensive speeches. It was during this term in Congress that he wrote a letter to his young law partner containing certain rules of conduct which every young man ought to engrave upon his heart, a statement comprising a sounder and more healthful philosophy than any similar number of words in all literature, a statement breathing brotherhood in every line: "The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There may sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young man down; and they will succeed, too, if he allows his mind to be diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted injury." In a speech a few years before he had expressed another phase of his love of humanity in this sentence: "If you would win a man to your cause first convince him that you are his sincere friend." There is a verse from Ayleyn which elaborates this beautiful idea, an idea so illuminative of Lincoln's soul:

"The fine and noble way to kill a foe  
Is not to kill him; you with kindness may  
So change him that he shall cease to be so;

And then he's slain. Sigismund used to say  
His pardons put his foes to death; for when  
He mortify'd their hate he killed them then."

In his speech before the convention which nominated him for the United States Senate, in opposition to Douglas, in the debates with that master of the forum, in inaugural addresses and presidential messages, on the field of Gettysburg and elsewhere Lincoln gave deliverances that in chaste and lofty eloquence, in simplicity and power stand unsurpassed. The ideal of human brotherhood was with him ever uppermost. Toward the South he exhibited the most tolerant and affectionate spirit. (Applause.) In his speech at Peoria in 1854 he said: "Before proceeding let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us we should not instantly give it up. When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact." The keynote of his position was opposition to the extension of slavery. (Applause.)

The opening of the American Civil War made him the chief figure of the most colossal crisis in his country's life. Every element of his character was brought into instant and effective play. It is difficult to appreciate the magnitude of the task he met and mastered. His was the responsible supervision of all civil and military administration. The young party he had led to victory was naturally filled with numerous and discordant groups all clamorous for recognition. Every phase of feeling as to the policy of the government in its most frightful emergency poured a stream of argument and protest across his audience chamber. To harmonize the clashing sentiments and

interests required superbest skill. Relations with other nations demanded the coolest and most thorough judgment. He rewrote Seward's dispatch on the subject of England's recognition of Southern belligerency, converting that violent document, which would most probably have incited war, into a model of diplomatic propriety. (Applause.) The selection of commanders for the untried millions who assembled at his call involved the rarest penetration. Forbearance, sympathy and keenest insight marked his treatment of the generals in the field. He studied the art of war and demonstrated military talent of the highest type. His orders and inquiries showed a technical familiarity with all the problems of the contest. He grasped the essential features of the proper handling of the Union arms and resource. From the beginning he foreshadowed the course of the strife with such accuracy that competent authorities have pronounced him one of the ablest strategists of that world-astounding war. Throughout the changing fortunes of the conflict he was the same serene, unyielding, all-compelling force that wielded every controversy and every defeat into final and overwhelming triumph. The fires of criticism and calumny found him unresenting, calm, yet undeterred. Modest himself to the line of self-effacement, he held himself the humblest of all the Presidents. On his second election to the Presidency he said there was in his gratitude to the people no taint of personal triumph and that he felt no pleasure in succeeding over others. He exercised the prerogative of pardon with tenderness and enthusiasm. Mighty as was his brain, still mightier was his heart. (Applause.) He had begun a humane and peaceful reconstruction of several States before he died, and had he lived the nation's wounds, which he felt were also his, would have far more quickly healed. (Applause.) The

knowledge that despite his love for all mankind his efforts for human elevation would be distorted and assailed, that however glorious the final victory thousands of American homes were being desolated, that brother was emptying the blood of brother, and the premonition that he would not outlive the struggle, wrapped him in isolation and in sorrow and gave his features an infinite sadness in repose.

His death was one of the profoundest calamities that ever shocked the earth. To his noble wife he remarked as the clandestine assassin was about to fire, "There is no city I desire so much to see as Jerusalem." He was not permitted to see the old Jerusalem, but in a few hours he was to stand among the glories of the new. (Applause.) Now what is the relation of his life to the Republic he aided so materially to preserve? It is the development of the idea of brotherhood on which the continued preservation of this Union depends. What lesson emanates from his spectral figure as it rises from that April night in 1865 the shadows on which it is upborne assuming the similitude of a cross? It is the love of Abraham Lincoln for every man, woman and child beneath the American flag. (Applause.) Invoking his memory I, a Southerner and a Democrat, true to every principle that animates my patriotic, valorous and incorruptible people, come among you to-night, Northerners and Republicans, equally true to your convictions, as fellow-countryman, friend and brother. (Applause.) New York is my country as well as Texas. Massachusetts, California, Illinois are as dear to me as Louisiana, Georgia or Tennessee. The memory of Abraham Lincoln is one of the fundamental buttresses of the reunited and unconquerable America of the twentieth century. In fulfillment of his desires and dreams the American people are to-day a mighty and a deathless brotherhood. Forgotten are the dis-

cords of the past; departed are the specters of civil strife. Near Columbus, Ohio, was situated Camp Chase, one of the military prisons of the North during the Civil War. There thousands of Southern soldiers died, far from the land of their birth and love. But their graves have received the tenderest care from Northern hearts and hands, and an arch has been erected on that solemn spot bearing the word "Americans." This word expresses the spirit of patriotism that to-day uplifts and thrills the nation, the spirit in which Lincoln moved and spoke and prayed. It hallows the past, it inspires the present, and O, may it animate the endless reaches of the future. It arouses love for every part of our common country, for every city and every state, every mountain and every shore, every forest and every plain—love for our traditions and our history, love for the home of freedom, the hope of liberty, the light of time, the radiance of the ages, our own United States. (Applause.)

The poet sings of Sunny France,  
Fair Olive laden Spain,  
The Grecian Isles, Italy's smiles,  
And India's torrid flame,  
Of Egypt's countless ages old,  
Dark Africa's palms and dates;  
Let me acclaim the land I name,  
My own United States.

The poet sings of Switzerland,  
Braw Scotland's heathered moor,  
The shimmering sheen of Ireland's green,  
Old England's rockbound shore,  
Quaint Holland and the fatherland,  
Their charms in verse relates,  
Let me acclaim the land I name  
My own United States.

I love every inch of her prairie land,  
Each stone on her mountains' side,  
I love every drop of the water clear  
That flows in her rivers wide;  
I love every tree, every blade of grass,  
Within Columbia's gates,  
The Queen of the earth is the land of my birth,  
My own United States.

(Great applause and cheering.)



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ADDRESS OF  
HON. JOHN MAYNARD HARLAN.

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PRESIDENT YOUNG: The Republican Party I hope will never turn its back upon the sage counsel of its older members. Many of its leaders to-day personally participated in the activities which marked its rise. Its work, however, must be carried on by a younger generation, and its active life must be marked by the virility and energy of younger years. The life of the Republican Party necessarily grows with the ideas for which it stands, and we hope that it will always be marked by honesty in public and private affairs and with sturdy loyalty to government, with pride in American institutions and with unlimited loyalty to the flag. The committee is fortunate in securing the presence of a gentleman whose personal activities have been shown in contests that were real and on behalf of issues which were vital. It gives me peculiar pleasure to present to you the Hon. John Maynard Harlan, of Chicago, the worthy son of a worthy sire. (Applause.)

MR. HARLAN.

Mr. President, members of the Republican Club of the City of New York, ladies and gentlemen:

To be asked by this organization to speak of the Republican Party on this day and in a presidential year is an honor that I deeply appreciate, but would hardly have dared to covet; and the fact that I am placed in such notable company at the speakers' table makes the honor still greater.

You men of New York have long known Governor Hughes (applause) as an able and brilliant lawyer. We who are not of New York and who at long range admired the skill and ability which he showed in the insurance investigation have now come to admire and respect him for his lofty conception of public duty, his high standard of official service, and his faithful adherence to both. (Applause.) We have also learned to admire him for the quiet confidence he has shown and his reliance upon the reasonableness and good sense of the people (applause), a quality which I noted he had observed as one of the distinguishing characteristics in Lincoln's life, which he said he had studied and was full of from boyhood, and which he has shown since becoming Governor he had assimilated much of. (Applause.)

Governor Willson, of my native state—having heard and seen him, do you wonder that I want you to know that Kentucky, his state, is my native state? (Applause.)

Governor Willson, of my native state, deserves and has the admiration and confidence of his own state and of the entire country for the manly and firm way in which he has shown he proposes to enforce law.

Governor Willson, in a state where in 1860 Abraham Lincoln received only a few hundred votes, received more than 200,000. Such a vote, as you no doubt feel Governor Willson, imposes upon you a great responsibility to your party and state, and the people of Kentucky, as well as of the entire country, have already learned to expect that you will fully discharge that responsibility. (Applause.)

It is especially gratifying also to be a fellow-guest on such an occasion as this with Congressman Sheppard, of Texas (applause), and to have listened to the tribute of a prominent Southern Democrat to one who was elected as the first Republican President by

the suffrages of the men of the North (applause). It augurs well for the future of the country, which all of us alike love, Democrats no less than Republicans, that Lincoln has already in the generation next following his own become the nation's hero. (Applause.) He is no longer the idol merely of one section or of one party. The Republican Party is big enough, Mr. Sheppard, to share with your party the memory of the illustrious Lincoln, and as Republicans who love our country above our party, and whose eyes are turned toward the future rather than the past, we will welcome the day when our heroes will not be spoken of as great Democrats or as great Republicans, but as great Americans. (Applause.)

Being only a private in the ranks of the Republican party, I may speak unfettered by the sense of responsibility which circumscribes an accredited party leader. I hazard only personal discomfiture if aught that I shall say seem unwise or ill-timed.

As members of a party that produced a Lincoln to save the country when it was in peril of its life, we do well to meet on the anniversary of his birth. As we contemplate anew the loftiness of his character, the purity and unselfishness of his patriotism, the simplicity of his life, the singleness of his purpose, his wisdom in council, his restraint as well as his firmness in action, his love of man as man, having malice toward none and charity for all, we are lifted above everything that is sordid and selfish and partisan in us and in the world about us, and are inspired with ambition and determination that through our party the lofty ideals of Lincoln shall be realized to the full. (Applause.)

The Republican party was not the creation of a few men who, agreeing on questions that appeal merely to the intellect, framed for themselves a political platform to which, by the slow and cold process of logic,

reason and appeal to self-interest, they hoped to bring recruits in winning numbers. Nor was it created merely as a weapon of political competition and rivalry. The Republican party was not even founded in the purpose or desire of its members to advance the material well-being of our country, important and self-justifying as such a purpose alone would have been. No, the Republican party was conceived and born of the same ideals that sustained Washington through the trying days when the American nation had its birth. It sprang into life spontaneously and, as it were, fullgrown, not only as an expression of the inborn hatred of freemen for human slavery, but as a political instrument with which they were resolved to prevent the extension of slavery into free soil and to preserve the Union under the Constitution. That it saved the Union and abolished slavery those who then opposed it now rejoice no less than we. Its platforms of 1856, 1860 and 1864 were declarations not so much of political as of moral principle. The dominant note in each is the equality of all men before the law, their equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to secure which this government was instituted.

But not even in the North did this fight for moral principle escape selfish opposition. Although the heart of the people beat true to the issue involved and although the men of '61 did not stop to count the cost of their struggle for human rights, nevertheless, as one writer of that time expresses it in language that may be regarded as having some present application:

"Even in Philadelphia, which became the most loyal of all cities, nearly all the commercial and financial interests were arrayed against Lincoln, because they regarded the Republican party as disturbers of national tranquillity and of all the interests of trade."

The war over, the Union saved and re-established

on the basis of human freedom, it was but natural that the Republican party, fresh from that great moral triumph, should scorn repudiation as a national crime and insist that the national honor required "the payment of the national indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all the creditors, at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted." That language is quoted from the Republican platform of that day, 1868. And it was natural, too, that our party should again express its adhesion to "the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government, and that it should hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil." That language, too, is quoted from the platform of 1868.

Instinct with the loftiest conception of human liberty, animated by the spirit of its noble achievements, it was inconceivable that the Republican party should yield to the Greenback craze, or consent to the payment of the national debt with any but the best money known to the world. Repudiation and inflation, being the twin offspring of dishonesty, have always been equally obnoxious to the Republican party. Both are attempts to get something for nothing. Those who had shed their blood to preserve what was precious to them, the Union, could not conceive that value could be created over night merely by the printing press. (Applause.) Can we not imagine with what pleasure General Grant (applause), as one of his first acts as President, signed a law providing for the payment in coin of all United States bonds bearing interest and for the resumption of specie payment as speedily as possible?

Having had its birth in the hatred of freedom for human slavery and in their purpose that all men

should be free and have equal opportunity under the law, the Republican party from the beginning was unwilling that our workingmen, our freemen, should be placed in competition with any form of either servile or underpaid labor. A protective tariff has its complete moral, as well as economic, justification in the increased wages, the shorter hours of work, and the improved conditions of labor which it makes possible; for, translated, these mean better housed, better clad, healthier, better educated men, women, and children—in short, the development physically, intellectually, and morally of the family as the unit and bulwark of our national life. (Applause.)

It is not too much to say that since the Republican party performed triumphantly and beneficently its great mission in saving the Union, its record of achievement has been the history of the country's prosperity. When peace came, the prolonged moral and spiritual exaltation of the people subsided and, as was natural and necessary, they turned their attention to the development of the material resources of the country—for with a nation as with a man a sound heart and a sound mind should have for their permanent abode a sound body. Although for the time there was a relaxation of the moral tension, yet throughout the entire career of the Republican party the keynote of its best endeavor has been the moral advancement of the people. To-day, under the inspiring leadership of President Roosevelt (applause), the Republican party has entered the lists again as the champion of the unorganized many against the aggression of the highly organized and selfish few. (Applause.) It champions now, as it did in 1861, that equal opportunity under the law which Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence, in the words "All men are created equal"; for, as I understand that phrase, it does not mean that

all men are even supposed to be equal in estate, body, or mind; but that, under our republican form of government, all men, whether richer or poorer, stronger or weaker, shall have the equal protection of the law, to the end that each one, while respecting the rights of every other, may develop to the point of highest possible efficiency all the powers and capacities with which he has been endowed by God. (Applause.)

Moreover, the Republican party stands now as it has always stood, for the protection of property—of actual property as opposed to fictitious property. In 1861 the party made its fight for the protection of man's property right in himself and his right to enjoy the fruits of his own labor. To-day, if I at all apprehend the feeling and purpose of the rank and file, our party is determined that the man of moderate or small means shall have what assurance the government by lawful action or restraint can give, that the putative value of stocks and bonds in which he invests his savings shall have due relation to the value of the actual property which they represent; (applause) and the stability of that value must not be menaced by the possibility of the dilution, unknown to him, of the stocks and bonds representing the property upon which he is depending, perchance, for provision for himself and family when he shall have become incapacitated for further labor. (Applause.)

If dishonest wealth shall not cease to exploit the ignorant and the weak, the inevitable result sooner or later must be that the ignorant and the weak by sheer force of numbers will take the law into their own hands and with results which we may well shrink from contemplating. The strong should not be held down to the level of the weak. The weak cannot be lifted up to the level of the strong. But each, the strong and the weak, should have the fullest opportunity under the law and without abridgment of the

equal opportunity of the other to develop to his uttermost. Neither should be allowed to exploit the other. For the strong to exploit the weak is an injustice to the weak and is bad enough. But to give rein to socialism and allow the weak to exploit the strong by limiting his achievement would not only be an individual injustice, but, what is even more serious, would stunt and paralyze the race and put an end to human progress. (Applause.)

The fight of the Republican party is not against all wealth; its fight is against corrupt or dishonest wealth. But honest wealth must not be—indeed, with safety to itself it cannot be—silent while the struggle proceeds. It will not suffice for honest wealth merely to refuse to make common cause with corrupt wealth. Honest wealth must stand out in the open and join earnestly in the battle against corrupt wealth; honest wealth must differentiate itself from corrupt wealth, for if it do not, the inevitable result must be that the people in waging the struggle against corrupt wealth will be unable to distinguish between that which is corrupt and that which is honest and both may go down together in the same cataclysm.

Really, my fellow-citizens, is it too much to expect of each other that we exercise common honesty in our business relations with each other and with the world? Was piracy driven from the high seas only to be countenanced when practiced at the directors' table? (Laughter.) Why, even the Chinaman, whom we exclude, has never been suspected of using the town pump or the printing press to create values. (Applause.)

The great mass of our people are honest by inclination and not from expediency or compulsion. That small but powerful coterie that has prospered by capitalizing the ignorance and misery of the many who



have been powerless to protect themselves has already begun to see a new light. It has only been necessary to call the attention of the people to conditions that they were ignorant of, or at best but dimly guessed, to cause them to rush to the standard raised by the Republican party in its latest crusade against human wrongs—a crusade for honest dealings among men and for the protection of actual property. Publicity has proven itself to be a good policeman, and in my opinion it is the only policeman we need in this emergency.

Not only have the great mass of the people responded to the moral issue raised by the Republican party, but even from among the great and powerful of our business men have stood forth champions of better business methods and of the protection of actual property. It is noteworthy and encouraging to have a man occupying such a position as the chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, voluntarily offer such testimony as he did in his speech here in New York last week (I daresay in this very room; I believe it was in this hotel), when he said:

“I want to state that the policy of the present administration, whether it be criticized or praised, whether its methods be regarded as satisfactory or unsatisfactory, has had a great and personal influence on your president, who happens to occupy a position of great responsibility.

“In making this personal application to myself I know that the reiteration of the oft-stated principles of the President of the United States has increased my feeling of responsibility towards the stockholders I represent, towards our competitors, towards business men, and towards the public; and that our relations have been improved. According to my belief, business is done on a better basis and on a higher

plane because of what I have referred to." (Applause.)

Gentlemen, if we examine, analyze, and closely scrutinize everything that the administration has advocated or done, we find that the essence of it all is a demand for equal opportunity for all men. We hear Roosevelt's policies frequently spoken of as though those policies were something which had been imposed by him upon the Republican party; the truth is that the real secret of his strength and of the hold of his administration upon the country has been that he has truly interpreted the heart, conscience, mind, and purpose of the rank and file of the Republican party. (Applause.) The policies which the administration has stood for are entirely Republican. No candid critic can accuse the President of attacking property rights, unless the right to exploit the public and take advantage of positions of high responsibility to others can be construed as a property right and a personal asset. (Applause.) In all these matters, regardless of whom he might hit, he has spoken out like a man. (Applause.) Through his personal force and character he has raised the commercial and political morals of the country as clearly and definitely as if jackscrews had been put under the nation and we had been bodily raised up above our former level. (Applause.) His bitterest foe, if candid at all, and willing to render unto him the slightest justice, must admit that the nation owes much to him in that one respect, if in no other.

It is true that President Roosevelt has courageously taken up the gage in the interest of actual property as opposed to fictitious property, and for that he has, as he deserves to have, the thanks of his party and of his country. But with no less courage, in fact it may be said with even greater courage, he has denounced lawlessness when the unit of defiance to

law and order was the voter and not the dollar. The attitude taken by him in a speech in Chicago at the time of the great teamsters' strike in 1905 shows that the purpose of the President has been to make both rich and poor, employer and employed, capitalist and wage-earner, respect the law and to see to it that all alike get equal opportunity under the law. He said, with an earnestness that deeply impressed all of us who heard him—I want you to hear this—I read now his words:

“The greatest and most dangerous rock in the course of any republic is the rock of class hatred. \* \* \* No true patriot will fail to do everything in his power to prevent the growth of any such spirit in this country. This government is not and never shall be the government of a plutocracy. This government is not and never shall be the government of a mob. I believe,” said he, “in corporations. They are indispensable instruments of our modern industrialism, but I believe that they should be so supervised and regulated that they should act for the interest of the community as a whole. So I believe in unions. \* \* \* But I believe that the union, like the individual, must be kept to a strict accountability to the power of the law.” The Union, the voter, and not the dollar, the unit of defiance in that case. And then, turning to the Mayor of Chicago, he said: “Mayor Dunne, as President of the United States, and therefore as the representative of the people of this country, I give you as a matter of course my hearty support in upholding the law, in keeping order, and in putting down violence, whether by a mob or by an individual. \* \* \* If ever the need arises, back of the city stands the State, and back of the State stands the Nation.”

That was President Roosevelt in 1905 (applause), talking when it was the mob, the mob of voters who

were defying the law and not the power of aggregate dollars, defying the law (applause).

Since the Republican party first came into power, in 1860, it has never had occasion even to fear loss of power except when the feeling had taken root among its own rank and file that the protective tariff, originally designed merely to bridge the difference between the cost of production here and abroad, was being used not for protection, but for donation to the privileged few. And to-day, if there be any doubt that our party will receive in November a new commission from the people, that doubt is not due to any falling off in the number of Republicans or increase in the Democratic ranks, but is due only to the determination among Republicans themselves that their party platform shall not be the cover for a backward movement, and their fear that the candidate to be nominated may not be a real exponent and doer of the Republican policies to which the present administration has given concrete expression. We hear those policies spoken of, and truly, as Roosevelt policies. But they are more than that. They are Republican policies. They are American policies. Republicanism is not one thing to-day, another to-morrow—one thing in 1860, another in 1900 and 1904, and yet another in 1908. Republicanism is the same yesterday, to-day and to-morrow. It means to all men equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It means equal opportunity to all men and protection for the actual property of all men. It means opposition to fictitious property as a pilferer of actual property, and to exploitation of one man or of one class by another. It means the enactment and enforcement of all economic and regulative laws which are designed to promote and secure those ends.

Examine closely the Republican platforms of 1900 and 1904 and see if I am not right when I say that

they pledge the party either specifically or by principle to every measure and policy for which the administration has stood or fought. Why then do we call them Roosevelt policies? Why, because his administration has treated the party pledge as the measure of its duty; because it has attempted in earnest to make its performance square with its party's promise. And, fellow Republicans, mark my word, as one of the rank and file from the middle West, the Republican party must do more than build a platform of policies and promises acceptable to its rank and file, and it must do more than nominate a candidate who will declare his adherence to such a platform. It must name a candidate of whom its rank and file will know, not by what he says after nomination, but by what he has done before nomination, that when he pledges fealty to the platform he is expressing his heart's feeling and purpose, and not merely the studied assent of the candidate looking for votes. (Applause.) Without such a man our platform will have only a possible literary value, if the sentiment of the rank and file of the middle West, as I believe I know it, is at all typical of the country at large.

With such a man as its candidate for President, standing on a platform which truly expresses the heart, conscience, and mind of the Republican rank and file of the Republican party, the result cannot be in doubt. (Applause.) With such a President in the White House, and a sympathetic majority in both houses of Congress, the momentum of the past four years' achievement will not be lost or even checked; and the added impetus of the next four years will carry us still nearer to a complete realization of all the splendid possibilities of a sincere and intelligent application of Republican principles.

Fellow-Republicans, in my opinion—remember, I am only one of the rank and file; so my opinion isn't

expected to be accepted as ex-cathedra by any one—but in my opinion the real issue of the impending contest is the Supremacy of Law. (Applause.) Let us realize this as clearly as our fathers realized it in 1861, when armed rebellion threatened the fundamental law of the Union. Let us realize that the greatest menace to-day to the supremacy of law is that subtle anarchy of selfishness by which the strong and the crafty, sometimes secretly violating the law, at other times observing the forms of law, would, in fact, subvert law and justice. Let us rise to the level of the best traditions of the Republican party; let us quit ourselves like men, fit successors to the patriots of 1861; let us do what Lincoln would have us do if he were here; let us place the party's interest, the country's interest, above every personal interest or ambition.

You may have your choice, it seems quite apparent you have (applause); another may have his; I may have mine. Yet what matters it whose choice the man is if he be the right choice. But let us realize, before it be too late, that no choice can be the right choice unless he is a man of whom we shall know, without his saying so, that he will carry out the principles of his party as faithfully as Theodore Roosevelt has done (applause); and unless he be a man who by his public and private record stands out as a militant believer in the proposition that the law is for all men—for the poor no less than for the rich, for the strong as well as for the weak, and that each of us, under all circumstances and in every walk of life, is entitled, as of right, to equal opportunity with every other man under the law. (Applause.)

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SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW  
(in response to calls of Depew, Depew)

Ladies and Gentlemen: I should say that the one thing that we most want at this moment is to go home.

A VOICE: No, we want to hear from you.

SENATOR DEPEW: If the plain people, the private citizens, all over the United States, 90,000,000 of them, are to express their views with the emphasis that Mr. Harlan has, I think they will have their way. (Laughter.)

I am glad that you have had the opportunity of hearing the gentleman from Texas here to-night (applause), and it gives you an idea of the kind of speeches we have all the time down in Congress, and that is the reason we love to go there and that there are so many candidates for our places. (Laughter.)

I think I am the only man here who knew Abraham Lincoln. If there is any other, let him speak.

A VOICE: Horace Porter.

SENATOR DEPEW: Horace Porter has gone. I looked to that before I said it.

A VOICE: Dr. Brush is here. He shook hands with him four times.

SENATOR DEPEW: Well, I am glad Brush stayed. Very few men are living who knew Abraham Lincoln and talked with him many times. I had the pleasure of meeting him nearly every day for three months. You would think I am a hundred years old, but I was younger then than I am now.

A VOICE: We love you just the same, Chauncey.

SENATOR DEPEW: The first time I saw Mr. Lincoln was when he was on his way to Washington after being elected President. The train stopped at

Peekskill. The gentleman selected to introduce him to the citizens of Peekskill was an old lawyer with whom I was studying at the time to become a lawyer and who had been his colleague in Congress. It was the greatest occasion the old man ever had, and the train went off while he was speaking. (Laughter.) The next time I saw Mr. Lincoln I had advanced somewhat in my political career, had become Secretary of this State, and there was delegated to me the collection of the soldiers' vote, because Horatio Seymour was Governor, and a Democrat, and the Legislature was Republican, and this was the only State where the Governor did not have that duty. In order to appreciate—and very few of you younger men can appreciate precisely what that war was—in order to appreciate what it was I want to tell you that this one State of New York had in the field at that time 400,000 voters. (Applause.)

The most extraordinary man whom I ever met in my life—for I have hardly ever met a man I could not get along with, because if I couldn't have my way I always let him have his, so we always got along—was Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War (laughter). Mr. Stanton absolutely refused to let me know where those soldiers were so I could send them the necessary credentials upon which they could vote, as they were scattered all over the country in brigades, in regiments and in companies. So I used to see Mr. Lincoln nearly every day and had an opportunity to get an idea of the man at that close range of observation—a young man absolutely worshipping this great chief. We think we know something about the political antagonism and abuses which characterize our time, but they are nothing compared with that time. There never has been a President in my experience who was abused, who was caricatured, who was ridiculed, who was misrepresented as was President Lin-



coln during his term of office. And it was not only by the opposition press; it was many times by the leading papers of his own party, because often they lost heart and demanded that he should surrender and make peace on any terms. Now, if there was any man who loved peace and who would sacrifice anything to secure it, if there was any man who hated war, if there was any man who was crushed by suffering, it was Abraham Lincoln.

I have seen in the great room where he used to receive everybody, pathetic scenes between him and the people, the like of which have never been seen. Remember that at that time one-half of the second-story of the White House was one great room, that there were no guards, no protection for the President, only a guardian at the door who had no supervision, and everybody came in, men and women, and that man with all the burdens of the country upon him, with the question of the life and death of the Republic not only upon his heart but upon his judgment and upon his administrative and executive action, would sit there hour by hour and listen to women pleading for a boy who had been sentenced to be shot because he had deserted, and pleading for a pass to go down to the front in order that in the hospital they might find the boy who had been wounded or who was ill with camp fever, and never was there an occasion when that plea was vain. Mr. Lincoln could not, and he never did, sanction a death warrant. (Applause.)

I heard him tell a great many stories and I said to him, "Mr. Lincoln, where did you get your stories? You have more than any man I ever met." He said, "I will tell you. Going through in my youth as a lawyer, and afterwards, I followed the court. At the different county places where the court was held there would be at one hotel the judges, the grand and petit juries, the lawyers, the litigants and the witnesses, an

original people under original conditions, pioneers, and they would sit about all night telling what happened to them and to their neighbors. They were better stories than ever were invented by any imagination of the story-teller. I have a good memory and I remember them all, and I reckon I can tell them pretty well." (Laughter.)

Now, as to how he would get rid of a question. There was a very able lawyer, the leader of the bar in the western part of our State, named John Ganson. He was a member of Congress and a Democrat, but he felt it his duty to be a war Democrat and support Mr. Lincoln's administration. He had not a spear of hair on his head nor on his face, and he was always the most dignified gentleman that you could imagine, and one day he went up to see Mr. Lincoln and he said: "Mr. Lincoln, the war seems to be going against us. The reports from the field are exceedingly discouraging. I am risking my whole political future to sustain your administration as a Democrat, and yet I cannot get any information whatever from the War Department or anywhere, and I think I ought to know for my future guidance what is the situation in the field." Mr. Lincoln looked at him curiously for about three minutes and then said, "Ganson, how clean you shave." (Laughter.)

Now, my friends, I went in at one time and this crowd of poor petitioners was there, and I saw him take a woman by the hand whose boy was about to be shot, and I saw him lead her out and take her down to Stanton and order the telegram to be sent by which he should be reprieved and saved. (Applause.)

I used to be at the dinners given by General Sherman during the latter years of his life on his birthday. Those present were all officers who had served with him during the Civil War with the exception, I think, of Mr. Choate and myself; and one of the generals

who had commanded one of the armies said to him at one time, "General, my great difficulty with maintaining discipline was that under the rules of war I had to send the findings of the Court Martial up to the President to be approved and they never were approved when the man was to be executed. What did you do?" Grimly Sherman said, "I shot them first."

Now, my friends, I remember one time I went in—I was just going to New York almost discouraged because Stanton wouldn't tell me where I could find the soldiers from New York and Mr. Lincoln said, "Well, what do you want?" I said, "Well, Mr. Lincoln, I simply called to pay my respects, I don't want anything." He had a peculiar cadence in his voice and he said, "Well, it is such a luxury to find anybody who don't want anything that if you will wait until this crowd disperses I'd like to talk to you." So I waited. The crowd disappeared. He told Jerry, the Irishman who was the guardian, to shut the door, and then in utter weariness he threw himself on the lounge. He was the homeliest man I ever saw—he had the longest legs and the largest hands—and he gathered himself up and rocked backwards and forwards and talked with eyes half closed to himself, half philosophy, half humor, the shrewdest comment upon men and upon events, and relieved by story after story, describing how he had met emergencies and got rid of critical situations and dangerous public men by a story which closed the situation, and on one occasion at least extirpated the man. Some day when you have time and nothing else to do if you will come and see me in Washington I will tell you those eleven stories, but I cannot tell them to-night. (Laughter.) I will simply say that of all the recollections of my life, and they are many, I thank God that I have been gifted with the opportunity of entering upon the pub-

lic stage immediately after graduation from college and in that way of meeting with the men of prominence and importance who make history in this country and in others, and although all great as they were in statesmanship, in arms, in letters, there were none of whom I have recollections that measure up to the wonderful greatness, to the marvelous humanity, to the comprehension of precisely what was needed at the hour and what was best for the future as did Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.)

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WILSON, S. M.....	11
WINSLOW, FRANCIS A.....	31
WINTER, CLARENCE .....	15
WOOD, H. N.....	27
WOOD, WM. H.....	47
WOODWARD, COLLIN H.....	4
WOODWARD, HON. JOHN.....	9
WRIGHT, GEORGE M.....	33
WRIGHT, GEORGE M. (guest).....	33



	TABLE
YALE, JOHN R.....	31
YOUNG, CHARLES H.....	President's Table
YOUNG, FRANK L.....	47
YOUNG, J. ADDISON.....	31
YOUNGS, CHARLES A.....	39
YOUNGS, DAVID L.....	39
YOUNGS, WILLIAM P.....	39
YOUNKER, HERMAN .....	48
YOUNKER, I. ....	48
ZELLER, LORENZ .....	16
ZENTGRAF, ERNEST W.....	3

## Ladies-Guests of Members of the Club.

	TABLE
BATCHELLER, MRS. GEO. CLINTON.....	4
BAUDOUINE, MRS. CHARLES.....	3
BERGSTROM, MRS. O. B.....	2
BEVIN, MRS. A. A.....	2
BEVIN, MRS. L. A.....	2
BONHEUR, MRS. LUCIEN L.....	6
BROBST, MRS. FRANK A.....	4
BROWN, MRS. PAGE.....	5
BROWN, MRS. WILLIAM G.....	7
BUSH, MRS. C. E.....	1
BUSH, MRS. C. E. (guest).....	1
CARTER, MRS. WILLIAM.....	2
CHAMBERS, MRS. M. C.....	3
COOK, MRS. E. A.....	5
CORNING, MRS. F. G.....	5
CRANE, MISS MARY.....	7
CROSSMAN, MRS. CHARLES S.....	7
CURTIS, MRS. ALLEN.....	1
DAVISON, MRS. G. W.....	1
DUFFY, MRS. JAMES J.....	7
EATON, J. SHIRLEY (guest).....	7
GERSBACH, MISS ALMA.....	3
GILDAY, MRS. WALTER C.....	3
GILMAN, MRS. THEODORE P.....	4
HENRY, MISS INEZ.....	3
HICKS, MRS. B. D.....	6
HICKS, MRS. F. C.....	6
HIGLEY, MRS. WARREN.....	5
HUNDLEY, MRS. OSCAR R.....	1
JOHNSTON, MRS. J. A. M.....	8
KALTENBACH, MRS. H. J.....	7
KELLY, MRS. W. C.....	6
KENYON, MRS. ROBERT N.....	2

	TABLE
LEWIS, MISS .....	7
McLEAN, MRS. DONALD.....	5
McLEAN, MISS .....	5
MARKS, MRS. M. M.....	6
MARTIN, MRS. J. B.....	8
MEEHAN, MRS. H. F.....	7
MILHOLLAND, MRS. JOHN E.....	4
MILLER, MRS. C. W.....	5
MILLER, MRS. E. P.....	8
MILLER, MRS. NATHAN L.....	4
MOLLER, MRS. H. E.....	5
NOBLE, MRS. F. G.....	5
ODELL, MISS .....	6
OSTRANDER, MRS. GEO. H.....	1
POMEROY, MRS. EUGENE C.....	5
PORTER, MRS. WILLIAM H.....	4
SILZ, MRS. AUGUST .....	8
SILZ, MRS. AUGUST (guest).....	8
SMITH, MRS. JESSE M.....	2
STAFFORD, MRS. ROBERT.....	3
STARKEY, MRS. EDWARD.....	4
SWEENEY, MRS. GEORGE W.....	3
SWEENEY, MISS ALICE.....	3
TOOKER, MRS. EDMUND C.....	5
WEBER, MRS. ....	8
WANDLING, MRS. JAMES L.....	2
WINTHROP, MISS .....	8
WETMORE, MRS. EDMUND.....	2
WETMORE, MRS. EDMUND (guest).....	2
WOOD, MRS. H. N.....	6
WOODWARD, MRS. JOHN.....	4
YOUNG, MRS. CHARLES H.....	1
YOUNG, MISS .....	1
YOUNGS, MRS. DAVID L.....	6
YOUNGS, MRS. CHARLES A.....	6

# M E N U

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Huitres de Cape Cod

Potage a la Louisianaise

Tortue verte a l'Anglaise

Radis

Olives

Celeri

Amandes salees

Mousse de kingfish, sauce aux crevettes

Coquilles de ris de veau et champignons frais

Poulet de grain roti en casserole

Pommes de terre, Palestine

Haricots verts francais

Sorbet fantaisie

Canard Ruddy roti

Hominy frit

Gelee de groseilles

Salade a la Waldorf

Glaces assorties

Petits fours

Fruits

Cafe

## DIAGRAM OF BANQUET TABLES.

Grand Ball Room Tables

PRESS

PRESIDENT'S TABLE

A

1

2

3

4

5

6

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Ladies' Tables













